

642, 728, 177, 565

Syria	MD1
Israel	MF1
Jordan	MG1
Iraq	MH1
●Lebanon	ME1

/For an account of the political regime, social stratification, and Westernizing of administration under the British and French Mandates following the First World War, see 66: Bonn , M1 Middle East, category 116, pp. 88-101./

GERSE: SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CULTURE CHANGE

79

621 The boarding-school, as well as the day-school, students include both boys
 872 and girls. The technical school and college students are nearly all boys, most of
 173 them at the American University, one in the government normal school, a couple
 at the government vocational school. All these institutions are in Beirut.

43 We cannot, unfortunately, be very specific about the "white-collar" class. The
 55 chief criterion is that none is a manual laborer, and they were obviously all con-
 sidered to hold respectable positions. Many are clerks in offices or shops. The most
 outstanding is an official in one of the government ministries. There are no prac-
 ticing physicians and no lawyers.

The "city specialists" can be subdivided as follows:

Protestant preacher	1	Sanitation	3
Detective	1	Writer	1
Fireman	1	Hospital attendant	4
Soldier (sargent)	1	Junior	3
Tailor	2	Barber	1

[41] The "merchants" consist of members of a single family, plus close village
 associates, who own and operate a store in Beirut. They have been very prosperous
 since World War II.

[57] Four of the teachers work in the village itself, but the individuals concerned
 have not always done so, and the teachers in the village government school have in
 the past often been outsiders, assigned by the Ministry of Education.

462 Lastly, it will be observed that over half of the gainfully employed women
 769 and girls are medical nurses. The position is one of some prestige in itself. Parents
 655 and family prefer it to other jobs because it means that the girl will be under the
 protection of an institution, and also because it may eventuate in the marriage of
 the girl to a doctor, a very prestigious status.

MARITAL STATUS AND OCCUPATION

162 Table 6, which indicates the marital status of the population between the
 592 ages of fifteen and forty-five, reveals certain facts related to occupations. Everyone

TABLE 6. MARITAL STATUS: AGES 15-44

Age	Men		Women		Age	Men		Women	
	Single	Married	Single	Married		Single	Married	Single	Married
15-19	39	0	27	0	30-34	6	9	4	7
20-24	50	1	17	7	35-39	3	4	3	12
25-29	13	0	10	10	40-44	2	14	0	12

GELICE: SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CULTURE CHANGE

131

There is a definite difference between marrying an Orthodox outsider and an outsider of different religion. The saying is: *Al-mar'a sidat' nasyib*, "The woman follows her husband." This means that in the case of mixed-religion marriages, the children will be raised in the religion of the father, a custom which is a major deterrent to such marriages. Such cases in Mansif constitute a minority of the outsider-marriages. They are all very recent. The first (which for a long time was the only one) occurred about 1914 when one of the village girls married a Maronite wage-laborer who was living in the village. He settled permanently, and one of the third class affiliate families was thus established. In general, the reaction to the marriage of village girls to men of other religions seemed somewhat sad but positively resigned.

However, on one point in relation to mixed marriages village opinion is very strong. If a village man wished to marry a girl of another religion (occasionally also of another village), it is assumed that the children would take the religion of the father. Suppose, however, that the girl's parents refused to agree to this? In such a case, village opinion is that the man should give up any idea of the marriage. If, however, he insisted on acquiescing to the girl's parents' demand, he would be strongly condemned and very likely ostracized, at least for a time. Such an action would be a violation of religious and community norms as well as of those relating to the proper relationship between man and wife. And it is certainly true that if a number of men should adopt this practice, the religious structure of the village would be seriously undermined.

CLIQUE

573

The existence of cliques in Mansif has been mentioned before, but it has also been mentioned that data on them is wholly inadequate. This much can be said: There are two clearest groups of close and constant companions, and during the course of the study, various members of each group made unfattering remarks about members of the other. It is possible that the whole village is split into factions with the two groups as nuclei, but only some inconclusive suggestions of this were encountered. Others who have had experience with Middle East villages generally agree that this type of faction-split is frequently encountered. (cf. Gibb & Bowen, 1950, p. 208). It is important to note that the members of each of the two groups do not belong to any one minimal lineage or maximal lineage.

SOCIAL CLASS

In Mansif there is not now, and apparently never has been, a particular family which owns a large proportion of the village, on whose land other villagers work as tenants. In some parts of the Middle East, this type of organization results in a rather clear two-class system.

In Mansif, as in many other Lebanese villages, the social structure is equal-

545 tribes. Though individuals are rated on a scale of value from excellent to worthless, such judgments do not seem to be applied to groups of people. Every person and every family are social equals because everyone is descended from the same man, the founder of the village. No one is a tenant on the land of anyone else, and it is important in this connection to recall a statement made earlier to the effect that villagers do not like to work for each other in menial tasks.

[46]

Families are to some extent distinguished from each other in terms of prosperity, but this seems to apply only to conjugal, or at most, to extended families. Numerous examples were given of families now well off which a few years ago had been poor, and vice versa. Notable prosperity or poverty both seem to be regarded as transitory situations mostly due to "luck." No patriline or lineage seems ever to have become entrenched for a long period either in poverty or in wealth.

The only groups which appear to be blanketed as socially inferior are some of the affiliate families whose founders came as outsiders to work as wage-laborers. (cf. Barth, 1954, p. 166.)

There are some suggestions that in time there may develop a distinction which could definitely be called a class distinction between villagers who are well-educated workers and those who remain in the village as manual laborers and farmers. The distinction would be the result of a wide divergence of interests and values.

CONCLUSION

[47]

A few important points which have been made in the course of this chapter should be isolated and fixed in mind before we proceed further.

1. Genealogically and conceptually, *...nail* is a single systemlineage, segmented into maximal and minimal lineages.

2. Village endogamy is the traditional pattern and, in general, is still the ideal. The fairly numerous exogamous marriages are concomitant with recent culture changes whose impetus is external to the village.

3. In terms of function, the maximal lineages appear to be vestigial institutions.

4. The minimal lineages are name groups, they define ordinarily the maximum range of inheritance privileges, and they probably serve as solidary units in times of crisis.

5. There is inconclusive evidence of a dual organization of the village both in the past and the present, but it cannot be satisfactorily correlated either with lineages or cliques.

6. Marriage choices are free within the village, except that the marriage of all first cousins, and closer relatives, is prohibited.

7. The specific marriage prohibition is an aspect of the fact that every individual is a member of a strong bilateral kindred of two, but usually not more than two, generations.

[77] is as naive and visionary as its opposite—the deliberate perversion of all further
[56] assimilation and a general turning back of the cultural clock, a procedure advocated by certain groups.

For the most part, the Musulim appear to belong to a much larger group than either of the two extremes, whose approximate situation has been described as follows:

They (the Syrians and Lebanese) are peculiarly aware of the "tension" between East and West and between Islam and Christianity. This is partly because their minds are exceptionally subtle, flexible, and sensitive; but partly also because Syria has always been exposed to influences coming in from Mediterranean lands and tends to be affected by them more and more profoundly than the other Arab countries. Through the mission-schools, through emigration, and in other ways, there has been built up in Syria an educated class westernized in spirit as well as in customs, but still Arabic in language and for the most part sympathetic and friendly. Thus the conflict between East and West has become a conflict inside their own ranks; as such it raises problems which pose themselves with peculiar urgency. (Harsanyi, 1944, p. 79.)

125
#3
#5 the following: accountants, college teachers and upper administrative officers, dentists, engineers, lawyers, nurses, newspaper publishers, editorial writers, reporters, surveyors, clergymen and school teachers. The range of income of these groups was large as was the amount of training undergone.

Managers, officials, large businessmen and rentiers

125
#3
#5 There was considerable difficulty in forming this category, but in general it is meant to include an upper-class group which has general power and influence in the city, either from high-ranking official position or because of position in the business world. It formed the largest group, other than miscellaneous, with almost twelve percent of the total sample. Of these, almost half were large merchants as might be expected in a city which depends on commerce for its existence. This is a much larger group of this type than would be found in most cities.

One reason for the size of this category is that Beirut is a capital city and therefore would have an inordinate amount of public officials. Another reason is that the attractions of a metropolis lure people of wealth.

Small businessmen

125
#3
#4 Almost equally as large as the managers etc., category, is the group of small businessmen. The largest percentage of these are small retail owners. As a group, they represent marginal enterprises which fill small niches in the economy. They are very often such small op-

3.2 Incidence of money from any source other than employment in year previous to interview. Tables 113, 114

434 Four hundred and twenty-one (22.35 %), of the sample had received money from miscellaneous sources. The largest group of these was people receiving money from rent of property (20 %). The second biggest specific source was relatives (19 %). Of particular interest are the remittances from overseas. About two and one half percent of our total sample, or estimated 1250 families in Beirut, received income from abroad.

3.3 Total income. Table 117

Total income of the household from all sources for the previous year was tabulated in intervals of 1000 L.L. Over eight percent of the households had incomes of below 1000 L.L. The modal interval was 1000 - 2000 L.L. making the crude mode 1500 L.L. per year (20 %). Assuming that the average family needs 2000 L.L. as a minimum of health and decency per year, we find that about sixty-five percent do not meet this minimum.

434
515 Arbitrarily assuming the middle class to have incomes ranging from 2000 L.L. to 25,000 L.L. it is noteworthy that this class constitutes about one third of the population (33 %) leaving four percent of the families making more than 25,000 L.L. per year.

Percentage-wise those sixty-five percent of the households which make 2000 L.L. or less receive twenty-one percent of the income, those thirty-one percent which make between

454
52.5
5001 - 15,000 L.L. receive sixty-three percent of the income and those four percent which make over 15,000 L.L. receive thirty-six percent of the income.

734
The total income of Beirut from all sources is estimated at 345,000,000 L.L. The mean income per family, which is not a good measure in this instance, is 6702 L.L. or 1179 L.L. per capita.

Distribution of income in the various zones districts is much more even than is generally assumed. All income groups seem to be found in equal numbers in all zones districts except Ain el Mreissieh which has a higher average.

5.4 Amount of savings in year previous to interview, Table 118

464
Only one household in twenty claimed to have saved money in the previous year or 2542 families estimated in the general population. However, only three percent of the households saved over four fifths (80 %) of the total. The estimated total for the population is 14,712,000 L.L.

Table 117

Total Income Per Year by French Senegal Districts of 1942

	Total	Percent	Part	Mean of House	Total of Houses	Re- cent	Re- cent	Re- cent	Re- cent	Re- cent	Re- cent	Re- cent	Re- cent	Re- cent	Re- cent	Re- cent	Re- cent	Re- cent
Total	1792	100.00	1	50	70	83	14	66	171	204	350	260	173	60	60	60	60	60
1 - 1,000	111	6.23	-	4	5	8	3	4	14	20	25	25	10	1	1	1	1	1
1,001 - 2,000	303	16.94	-	8	17	21	7	14	23	64	70	53	31	9	9	9	9	9
2,001 - 3,000	334	18.64	-	10	10	14	3	16	36	71	73	46	26	10	10	10	10	10
3,001 - 4,000	330	18.43	-	3	8	7	8	18	37	37	41	36	15	8	8	8	8	8
4,001 - 5,000	223	12.44	1	1	8	5	3	5	15	14	30	12	15	3	3	3	3	3
5,001 - 6,000	134	7.48	-	5	5	7	7	5	15	14	27	18	14	4	4	4	4	4
6,001 - 7,000	94	5.25	-	1	3	1	3	2	9	9	18	4	9	1	1	1	1	1
7,001 - 8,000	69	3.85	-	4	1	3	3	1	7	11	14	14	9	1	1	1	1	1
8,001 - 9,000	25	1.40	-	4	1	3	1	-	6	3	6	3	3	1	1	1	1	1
9,001 - 10,000	11	0.62	-	-	3	3	-	1	3	7	12	1	3	0	0	0	0	0
10,001 - 11,000	19	1.06	-	1	-	-	3	-	3	3	3	7	3	3	3	3	3	3
11,001 - 12,000	27	1.51	-	1	1	3	-	1	4	6	6	6	7	2	2	2	2	2

1942 Census of Senegal, French West Africa, 1942

LEBANON MEI
SYRIA MDI

S 482

SYRIA AND LEBANON

L In neither country is there an officer caste or a strong military tradition, though the present Syrian regime is trying to create one.

SOCIAL SURVEY

S
L
• 565 The ruling class in both countries is drawn from wealthy families; titles do not exist and the 'old' rich families, whose position and wealth come from land, mix freely with the 'new' rich families, whose money comes from commerce. There is no stigma in engaging in trade and even members of the upper class are merchants. A middle class of functionaries and employees has been growing up since 1948 in the three main cities. Their flats, between the splendour of the rich quarter and the huddle of the *sug*, are being built in quantities and their new, middle-class way of life is based on European standards. The mass of the people are artisans and labourers. The urban artisan approaches the middle class and the rural labourer approaches the hard life of the nomad; for the farm labourer the standard of living is generally low.

S The Press

L
204 The press of both countries is important but no one paper or group of papers has established an ascendancy. Damascus had at one time over twenty daily papers none of which could guarantee a circulation of over 3,000. The same state of affairs holds true in Beirut where most parties issue Arabic and in some cases French papers; there are also Armenian newspapers and one English daily.

656 Individual Lebanese have founded papers and *Le Commerce du Levant*, published in Beirut, has a standing comparable with *La Bourse Egyptienne*. In both countries press censorship has frequently closed down a paper only for it to re-emerge under another name, and in Syria the military dictatorship has reduced the press to a mere mouthpiece of official propaganda.

S Education

L
871 In both countries there are primary and secondary schools, and the number of schools and students increase each year. [212] Primary education is compulsory, and although reliable figures of literacy are not available,¹ it may be assumed that the percentage of illiterates is decreasing in both countries, but is higher in Syria than in Lebanon. In Syria, most of the schools are run by the state and of the private schools (which are

¹ An estimate for Syria for 1947 given in UN, Dept. of Social Affairs, *Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation*, 1952, was 40-50 per cent.

CONSERVATISM AND CHANGE IN A LEBANESE VILLAGE

303

the households are of minimum size, the strong and effective bonds of kinship are by no means limited to these units. For example, adult brothers maintain very close bonds throughout their lives, and this is often extended to first cousins, especially those on the father's side.

Unified in history, in religion, and in kinship, the people of al-Munsif maintain a basically equalitarian society. Although there are individual differences in fortune and capability, there is nothing to suggest a class system. It was made quite clear, for example, that no one would ask or expect a fellow villager to serve him steadily in any work considered menial. Nevertheless, there is work of this sort which is done in the village. Those who do it live in al-Munsif, but they are not of it. Between them and the members of the village there are no kinship ties, either by blood or marriage, and they belong to different religions from that of the village.

These additional inhabitants of the village come to a total of about 58 persons. Thirteen of them consist of house servants and the stokers at each of the bakeries. The remainder fall into two groups. The first of these amounts to over 30 people (6 households). These people are all Maronites and they come to al-Munsif in the winter only, with their flocks of sheep, goats, and cattle, from two villages which are snowbound at that season. Besides caring for their flocks, the men do wage labor in al-Munsif and the women often do laundry. They live either in houses which are vacant in the winter or in the lower levels of occupied houses. The second group totals 13 persons in 3 households. They are very closely related to each other, and are Mitwali (Lebanese Shi'is). This group has been in al-Munsif only about 12 years, and there was no one like them before that. The men are charcoal burners and use the scrub oak which grows in the village territory. The women do laundry and other chores for the village members.

The presence of these subsidiary groups in the village is a good example of the characteristic Middle East ethnic division of labor at work, emphasized by Carleton Coon.² The ethnic distinction in this case is on the basis of religion and place of origin.

Localism. It should now be clear that in some respects the traditionally extreme localism of al-Munsif has been greatly lessened, while in other respects it remains strong. Herein lies the essence of the conflict which culture change has brought to al-Munsif.

On the one hand, modern education and urban jobs (almost all of them related to institutions introduced through Western influence) have drawn a significant proportion of the villagers away from the village and village life in terms of economic activities, general interests, intellectual horizons, and ambitions. This trend is clearly recognized by many of the older people who can remember when conditions were different. A good many of them

² Carleton S. Coon, *Cavemen: The Story of the Middle East* (New York, 1952).

3 the land. In 1926-31, 182 villages comprising 181,000 hectares
166 were colonized in small properties by 6,000 families. The Government of Latakia compelled large proprietors in the region of Homs to give up their villages in the district of Masyaf in 1929; the land was distributed among the occupying peasants and sold to them at a price to be paid for in ten annual instalments. The village of Jib Ramle was also settled in 1929, in part by occupying peasants, in part by refugee Armenians.

But the French administration did not complete the settlement of these areas. In some regions the Turks settled these lands with nomad tribes, who were themselves averse to cultivation and either rented the land to Alawi villagers or continued to live themselves as nomads on the land without cultivating much of it. Consequently this land is now very sparsely settled.
3 811 Round Homs there are said to be 2,000 to 4,000 hectares with only 10 per cent of the land cultivated: this is some of the most fertile and best situated land in the country, and could be developed by colonization schemes.

3 In several respects the French authorities have modified the Turkish system in ways which strengthen the landowners
L 656 against the cultivators. One of these was the sale of the extensive Waf properties to business enterprises, irrigation concessions, or landowners. Another was the abrogation of the right of ownership acquired by ten years cultivation which benefited the small cultivators in enabling them to acquire new land.
423

3 Efforts were made to start co-operative and agricultural
H credit banks, but these never succeeded in breaking the peasant's indebtedness. Several large-scale irrigation schemes were
185 started, but produced more water than could be used. The educational system did not extend to the villages. Within the frame-
56 work of the existing system, these reforms did little to raise the standard of the peasants. As a mandatory Power the French relied on the collaboration of the wealthy upper class, that is, on the landowners, and so could make no fundamental reforms in the land system.
511

POSSIBILITIES OF DEVELOPMENT

3 So far as dry land farming is concerned the possibilities of
L improvement are hampered by the dry summer, which necessitates a long period of fallow. However, it would be possible by
244

in the form of cheese, buttermilk and *laban*, 262
 the last a fermented product made from
 cow's milk. Fresh milk is rarely used, how- 234
 ever, except in limited sections in the larger 262
 cities. In the rural districts, milk is obtained
 chiefly from sheep and goats, less frequently
 from cows. Legumes, potatoes, onions and
 other vegetables are widely cultivated.
 Green, leafy varieties are scarce in the in-
 land districts, but wild herbs are often uti-
 lized as substitutes. Many types of fruits
 are abundant, especially in the coastal val-
 leys. They form important supplementary
 items of diet when in season.

Much of the meat is imported from Syria 489
 or Turkey, but relatively little reaches the 262
 people outside the larger towns. The aver-
 age villager seldom consumes meat more
 than once a week. Mutton and, secondarily, 262
 beef are used most extensively. Both are 262
 employed, in a cooked or a raw state, in
kebi, a national dish prepared from meat
 and *barghal*. Goat meat is found every- 262
 where, while pork is available in the Chris-
 tian communities. Poultry and eggs are
 plentiful in most localities and fish in the
 coastal region. Olive oil and butter are the
 primary sources of fats.

In spite of the generally satisfactory level 148
 of nutrition, a definite decrease in the con- 657
 sumption of protective foods is apparent in 795
 the inland districts and in South Lebanon.
 In 1950, the Lebanese government ap-
 pointed a Nutrition Committee to promote
 a better understanding of the elementary
 principles of nutrition among the people.
 The different religious customs of the
 Moslem and the Christian communities in-
 fluence their nutritional habits and limit
 the application of mass educational mea-
 sures.

HOUSING

Lebanon has a large so-called middle 525
 class, and the disparity between the living 571
 conditions of the rich and the poor is less
 pronounced than in most of the neighbor-
 ing countries. Moreover, many families
 maintain financial and social contacts with

365 their relatives abroad. The villages are less
571 compact than in other parts of the Near
and Middle East, and separate farmsteads
are common. Extremes of poverty, associ-
ated with primitive standards of sanitation,
are most frequently encountered in the vil-
lages of southern Lebanon. In the cities,

362 substandard housing is found chiefly in the
old, congested quarters and in the Armenian
sections.

363 The typical dwellings in all parts of the
country are constructed of stone, cement or
concrete block, with a surface of white-
washed or tined plaster. The roofs are of
two general types: peaked and of red tile;
or flat, with a covering of cement or of
mud and besh. The houses vary in size
from one to several rooms, sometimes with

[68] two or more stories. The use of wood as a
building material is prohibited by the fire
regulations in the towns, but small wooden
shacks are occasionally seen on the out-
skirts.

Beirut is a cosmopolitan city, a mixture
364 of Arabic and Western culture. The older
365 parts of the city are overcrowded, with nar-
row streets lined by innumerable small
shops, which frequently have living rooms
in the rear. Apartment houses, interspersed
with detached dwellings surrounded by
colorful gardens, dominate the newer de-
velopments. Architecturally, all gradations
are encountered between old Arab-style
houses and modern villas.

ENVIRONMENT AND SANITATION

WATER SUPPLIES

362 Water supplies are obtained from
streams, springs and wells, and, in general,
are abundant in the coastal and the moun-
tain districts but deficient in the interior.
Beirut derives its water supply from the
Nahr el Keli, or Dog River, which is fed
from an underground spring in the hills
about 18 miles from the city. It flows by
gravity through a tunnel and open canals to
Dubaiya, 9 miles distant, where it is treated
[364] by preliminary rapid filtration, slow sand